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from that Sabbath-day, and during nine years afterwards, the writer never failed to preach to the Tonguese the "unsearchable riches of Christ" in their own tongue, with the exception of two or three occasions when laid aside by sickness. Our first extempore attempt was made at Leimatua, at the watch-night service at the close of the same year; and we never had occasion after that time to *read* any of our discourses to the natives. We do not mention these things by way of boasting, but as an encouragement to all young Missionaries, who may be tempted to be disheartened while learning a foreign tongue. Our advice would be to all such, to learn from the natives and not from Europeans, and to begin by speaking with and amongst the children, while careful at the same time to secure the aid of some native of known ability to guide and correct their studies.

Jone Fifita was a man of no ordinary character and ability. As a public speaker, he was possessed of many of the gifts and graces of a polished, but yet natural orator. His religious character likewise was bright and consistent in the highest degree. In person he was considered much below the Tonguese standard of height and physical development. Nevertheless, he had been noted, in heathen times, as a great champion in all pugilistic and gymnastic feats. He was also an oracle in traditional lore, and in his knowledge of the *mekes* and *ulas*, or songs and dances of the country. After his conversion, his natural powers were sacredly devoted to the cause of Christ. He loved the society of the Missionaries, and he profited more than most of his companions under their instructions. He soon acquired large and correct views of Scripture truth;

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and, considering the slender advantages he enjoyed, from having only become a Christian in his old age, his general knowledge was extensive. He was endowed with a remarkably clear and quick reasoning faculty, an excellent memory, a fine chaste diction, with the most wonderful flow of language; and a mellifluous and powerful delivery. All these qualities were accompanied by a natural impetuosity of manner, and appeal, that made his public ministrations both highly interesting and profitable.

His peculiar gifts of mind, and his extensive acquaintance with native history and customs, qualified him for special usefulness to the Missionaries, both in reducing the language to its present scientific arrangement, and in translating the Bible into the native tongue. During the whole period of our Mission life we had constant intercourse with him; but especially so during a three years' residence in Vavau. All who knew him, will bear us out in saying, that he was one of the choicest of those good and able men, whom God has raised up among the Tonguese themselves, to be the teachers and the messengers of the churches. In his later years, Fifita resided at Hoöfoa, in Tongatabu, where he died, bearing a most happy and triumphant testimony to the "truth as it is in Jesus."

The early religious history of Jone Faubula, who is now regularly employed as a native Minister, affords an example of many similar cases of conversion, in which great sacrifices have been made on the part of the converts, rather than that they should remain in heathenism. He is the son of Tuiniyau, the King of Lakemba, in Fiji. Under the ministrations of Messrs. Cross and Cargill, he

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professed Christianity; and, after a while, was truly converted. His heathen relatives then tried by various means to force from him a recantation of his religion. But, rather than yield before their persecutions, or to their persuasions, he embraced an opportunity that presented, of making his escape to the Friendly Islands, where he knew he would be permitted to worship God in peace. Although often solicited since then to return to Lakemba, where he would at once be assigned no mean station among the ruling chiefs, he has steadily refused; preferring rather to hold the sacred office of a Minister in the Church of Christ, and to labour for the spiritual benefit of the people amongst whom his early religious impressions were fostered and ripened into maturity. Faubula was a great favourite with us, in all our Missionary boating expeditions. He was intrepid, skilful, and hearty. He was also possessed of a fund of natural vivacity and wit, which enabled myself and the boatman, who always accompanied me, to pass pleasantly many an hour upon the sea, under a blazing sun, which otherwise would have been wearisome enough.

Vavau contained, when we arrived, nearly three thousand church members. There were thirty-two preaching-places, seventeen of which were reached by water. The others varied in distance, from the Mission station, from two to ten miles. Having no horses, at that time, the labours of the Missionaries were extremely exhausting. The inland journeys were commenced before sunrise, and pursued during the cool of the morning; but, whilst thus avoiding one evil, another was encountered, equally great, if not worse. The roads, in most places, were no better than footpaths through the long

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797 others have been removed to different fields of labour. The east end of the island, where Satan has his stronghold, has at length begun to quake under the preaching of the Gospel; and all the heathen are convinced that theirs is a system of lies, which must soon wax old and vanish away."*

797 159 In this year, the conversion of Tugi, the son of Fatu, the chief of Mua, (with whom the Rev. W. Lawry formerly lived,) led to extensive results. The way had been preparing for these over a series of years. Successive Missionaries had sown precious seed, the fruit of which, in addition to that resulting from his own indefatigable labours, was reaped by the Rev. George Daniel.

Tugi, from his youth up, had been well-informed in regard to Gospel truth. He had been a reader of the Bible for many years, and was a man of great intelligence. For a long time he clung to heathenism, not because he had any real faith in its absurd teachings and priestcraft, but because he liked the unrestrained licence it afforded him, in common with others of his own age and class, for the gratification of pride and passion. At length, however, there appeared in his conduct a change, which showed that he was abandoning the system of his fathers. He was in the habit of attending to the preaching of the word; after which he frequently visited the Missionary to make inquiries, and would bear with patience the closest application of Scripture truth to himself. Perceiving all this, and knowing full well that if Tugi became a Christian, their cause would be ruined, the heathen party redoubled their attentions to him, and im-

* Letter from the Rev. Peter Turner to the General Secretaries, London, dated June, 1850.

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797
159

plored him not to forsake them. A great struggle evidently was going on within his mind; and, for a while, it was doubtful how it would terminate. At times, he seemed determined to declare himself a Christian; and then again would appear drawn toward the heathen. At last the period of decision came. He had been observed by some of his attendants to leave his house, on several occasions, at the midnight hour; and, upon being followed, it was found that he went to the Christian place of worship, where, in the dark, and alone, he was in the habit of secretly bowing his knee to God, and pouring out his heart in prayer. This, of course, became known, and he then, throwing off all reserve or concealment, made a bold and resolute stand against heathenism. He was next assailed both by the heathen and the Popish priests; but his mind was made up, to embrace the Christian Protestant faith, in which course he was followed, at the same time, by above two hundred of his people. Most of these persons were already well informed on religious subjects, and had only been waiting for this occasion to give expression to an abandonment of idolatry. The Romish priest now waited upon Tugi, with many professions of love, and great concern for his welfare and safety. He did all in his power to dissuade him from destroying his own "happiness," and spoke, in no measured terms, of the sin and follies of Protestants and of Protestantism; but both the arts and the tears of the Jesuit were alike in vain. Tugi had fully counted the cost, and having read his Bible to good purpose, he now bade fair to be an important acquisition to the cause of God in Tongatabu. The almost immediate effect of his conversion was that

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797 [159] the whole of the eastern part of the island was thrown open to the free preaching of the Missionary, to the residence of native teachers, and for the establishment of Christian schools.

It was at first thought that the example of the Mua people would lead to the speedy overthrow of heathenism in its remaining strongholds of Bea and Houma: such, however, was not to be our happiness. Mr. Webb and Mr. Amos redoubled their visits to Bea, and had frequent interviews with the leading chiefs, Maafu and Lavaka. But although these men were still heathens, they were under the influence and evil guidance of the French priests, who dissuaded them from granting any permission to introduce Protestant preaching.

797 123 Houma also received additional attention from myself. I frequently visited its chief Vaea, and particularly pressed upon his notice the example of Tugi. His invariable reply was "Tugi has done well; but he is too great a chief for me to follow." Vaea always received my visits with courtesy, and would patiently listen to any conversation on religious subjects. He would not, however, grant permission for public preaching in his town, nor would he tolerate the residence of any Christian among his people. Still, jealous as he was, we were never molested while visiting the people at their own houses for religious conversation. Many of the heathen were also in the habit of attending some of the more popular feasts, held in connexion with the public examination of schools, in various places, on which occasions they must have received a considerable amount of religious information, while mingling with Christian relations and friends.

797 Not long after the heavy shock given to hea-

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thenism by the conversion of Tugi, another conversion, from Houma, made a deep impression on the heathen mind. The subject of it, although a very respectable chief of the place, was not of such high station or influence as Tugi, yet his conversion greatly loosened the foundations of heathenism in Houma, and prepared the way for its overthrow. The writer has already embodied the remarkable history of this man's conversion, in a little work, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars; but a brief outline of it will be necessary here to sustain the connexion of our narrative.*

Hafoka, the chief concerned, had been long known as a firm and persecuting opponent of the Christians in the neighbourhood of Houma; but, in the course of the year 1851, his mind was brought directly under the influence of the Divine Spirit, and without the advice or counsel of any human being, he was inwardly constrained to flee from Houma, leaving his wife, family, lands, and friends, with the determination of becoming a Christian. In the village of Neiafu he sought and found rest for his troubled soul, under the instruction of Samuela Moala, the head teacher, and chief of the place. He could not have fallen into better hands, for Moala was one of the choicest converts in the whole of Tonga; a man of prayer, "and full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." To him, Hafoka was distantly related, and from him he received an hospitable welcome, with daily entertainment, while alienated from his heathen family and people. Food, raiment, and lodging, were all supplied,

* "Hafoka: a Missionary Tale of the South Sea Islands," pp. 117. London: Mason. 1860.

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797 without any thought of either present or future
159 remuneration. But, what was better still, Hafoka breathed in the atmosphere of a truly Christian family, where he could closely observe their mode of life day after day. Here he heard many Christian phrases and allusions, in ordinary conversation, to which he had never before listened, and which he could not understand, until he received explanations from his friend Moala, who was not slow to answer the inquiries of his visitor. At length, the Christian conversation of his new companions, and, above all, a few visits to the school of the village, where he had begun to learn his alphabet, although more than forty years of age, decided him to make a formal surrender of himself to God's people. The Sabbath day was at hand, when Hafoka resolved to enter the house of prayer, for the first time in his life, as an avowed worshipper of the living God.

797 Few of the numerous places of worship in Ton-
346 gatabu could excel, or even equal, the little chaste and picturesque chapel at Neiafu. It stood in the midst of a dense mass of trees, some of which were of gigantic proportions, and all covered with the richest foliage. It had been recently built under our own inspection; and, shortly after it was opened for Divine worship, certain strange appearances in the interior of the building, made a deep impression on the minds of the people. I state the facts as they were related to myself, without venturing any opinion as to an explanation of the phenomena described.

797 A series of evening prayer-meetings was held in
346 the chapel, not long after its dedication; and, on
781 one such occasion, an aged couple were the first to approach the building, carrying with them, as

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usual, their own lights. What, however, was their great dismay, on perceiving, as they supposed, that the interior of the building was on fire! They raised an alarm, and, joined by several other persons, rushed into the building; which, strange to say, was found without any indications whatever of light or fire. Instant and vigorous search was made, but nothing could be discovered to explain the remarkable appearance. On several subsequent occasions, a similar light was witnessed, by many respectable and credible persons. After the fullest inquiry, and especially after the testimony borne by Samuel Moala, I could have no doubt of the reality of the phenomenon itself, however it may be explained or understood. It is most likely that it had a natural explanation; but, we need scarcely say, that the sight was regarded, by the natives themselves, as supernatural in the highest degree. We suggested that it might have been the clever freak of some one intending to alarm the coming worshippers, or that a number of fire-flies might have got into the building; but, those who had seen the appearance, scouted all such explanations as insufficient.

In this very place, the writer of these pages was preaching, on the Sabbath morning on which Hafoka crossed the threshold, knelt down in the humblest attitude of prayer, and breathed out his desires to God; a heathen no longer, but a humble disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ. That sight was worth a life-time of Missionary toil and sacrifice. Many examples of the triumph of Gospel truth over heathen unbelief and prejudice, were afforded to all the Missionaries who have laboured in the Friendly Islands, and to ourselves among the number; but,

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this case was surrounded with peculiar interest, and its ultimate results were uncommon. Immediately at the close of the service, I went to the house of Moala, where the following conversation ensued between myself and the new believer:—

"Hafoka, I am very glad to see you here, and to find that you have resolved to abandon heathenism. But, tell me all about it. How is it you have come to this place?"

"It is true," replied he, "here I am; and I have come to be a Christian. I have been a wicked man. I have been a persecutor. But, now I have bowed the knee to Jehovah. I have forsaken all I possessed, so that I may serve God. I had many friends in Houma. My wife and children, lands and property, are there; but, I have forsaken them all, that I might come and worship God here!"

"Well," continued I, "what led you to leave them, and so suddenly too?"

"I can scarcely tell you," was his reply. "For weeks I heard, as it were, a voice within me, saying, 'Hafoka, rise, and leave this place; go to the Christians.' Day and night that voice seemed to speak to me: I became very uneasy and unhappy. At length, I could bear it no longer; and resolved, if possible, to know what it meant. And, now, I understand it all: it was the voice of God; and I am sure that He has led me amongst this people. Once I was dead, but now I am a living man. I cannot return to heathenism; and, if my wife and children will not come to me, then I am even content to lose all for the sake of Jesus Christ."

In the mean time, the absence of Hafoka from Houma, and then the discovered fact of his conversion, created a great commotion among the

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heathen. A council of chiefs was held, who determined, in the first instance, to send a friendly message, entreating his return. Hafoka's answer, however, was firm and decided. "Allow me," said he, "to practise my religion in Houma, and I will return at once. If this be not done, I will never go back. My love for you and for my family is as great as ever, and I fear to offend Vaea, and the other chiefs; but, unless I can return upon the conditions I have named, I will not go back."

Irritated by this firm answer, the ruling chief of Houma sent a party of armed men to take Hafoka by force from Neiafu. He, however, having received timely notice of their approach, made his escape into the bush, where he evaded the pursuers until the strength of their rage was past. After a little while he was left undisturbed; and, by diligent application, he improved rapidly in knowledge, and was soon able to read the holy Scriptures with tolerable fluency.

About this time, King George visited Hihifo, and I then brought Hafoka's conversion and circumstances under his notice, with a request that he would take some interest in his welfare. This resulted in Hafoka receiving a grant of land from the king, upon which he desired Hafoka to settle by himself, and there to await the coming of any of his own family, or his heathen friends, who might be willing to join him from Houma. After considerable hesitation, Hafoka accepted the king's offer. Having cleared a small portion of bush, and having erected a temporary hut, he waited in solitude for three weeks, at the end of which time, he was visited by his heathen wife from Houma, who had heard of his new location. Soon after that, other

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797 relations, and former companions, forsook Houma,
159 and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of
[794] which I preached the first sermon to a congregation of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new converts from heathenism. Before a year had gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman
123 chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness,
763 and was with him only a few hours before his decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this, he called his children and friends around him, after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and he even advised them all to become Christians themselves. Shortly after he had done this he expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor without any consultation of the wishes of the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in
[662] the hands of designing men, both in Houma and
[669] Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the king, and in the attempt which was finally made to overthrow his power altogether.

798 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was
669 put into a state of warlike defence, without the
712 slightest provocation from any quarter. For
721

51: Posesi Fanua G,I-4,5 (no date) 1975
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CORRESPONDENCE

Sir,

In a recent issue of your journal (vol. 82, No. 2, June 1973), I was interested to read an article by Tupou L. Pulu under the heading: "Some Remarks on Alternative Meanings for Tongan Place Names".

Although I heartily agree with her in her opinion of Gifford's *Tongan Place Names*, Gifford's mistakes serve rather as a warning to me, as it is so easy to fall into the same trap.

I have spent almost 20 years of my life doing research into this subject and still feel I cannot be so arrogant as to make decisive statements. Of course, I can quote information given, but the giver of that information must also be quoted as there are many versions of each place name: the name 'Auhangamea is an example. In another account, which I learned from Mafile'o Funaki of 'Uiha, the young daughter of a Tu'itonga died on a return voyage from 'Uvea. As the vessel passed this strait, the mats and tapa which had been wrapped round the putrifying body were renewed and the soiled articles thrown overboard so that they would be destroyed. Thus the strait was called: "Place (*'anga*) where the [mats and tapa] things (*me'a*) were destroyed (*'auha*)". But, as I have mentioned above, I feel I must steer off this subject lest I too should fall into the same category as Mr Gifford and others.

The only thing I should like to correct is that Houma-fale-ono was not the daughter of the Chief of Houma. Her father was Ma'afu-tukui-'aulahi, Chief of Vaini, and there is no dispute about this. In the 18 books of genealogy kept in the Palace Office, Nuku'alofa, she is cited as such.

Included in the list of references, is a work by my father, Fe'iloakitau Kaho. The title is given as *Ko e Kumi 'o e Tu'i 'e he Kau Ha'apai*, which, being in italics, I understand to be the name of a book; being Kaho's one and only child and having no knowledge that he ever wrote a book, I naturally should like to have information on where I could obtain a copy. The title given to this book is the title of a song of his which he composed for a *lakalaka* dance; I found it amongst his papers when he died at the good old age of 89 years.

In my father's papers, which as his only child I became heir to, there is a different story cited there about the birth of Taufa'ahau (Tupouto'a's son). I might mention here that Tupouto'a and Kahomovailahi were first cousins, their mothers being sisters. Kahomovailahi was my father's great-grandfather.

I pen this letter only because Kaho Fe'iloakitau is my father and I hate to think that one such as he, who spent most of his life researching and teaching our history, should be thought to have made such a mistake as that concerning Houma-fale-ono's parentage, which every school child is familiar with.

I am sincerely,

TUPOU POSESI FANUA
Tonga Traditions Committee,
Palace Records Office,
Nuku'alofa, Kingdom of Tonga

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga Vava'u Pangai OU9

as an illustration of an attack that might well be more fruitful in other and more competent hands.[2]

Dreams and Psychic Stress

Dreaming occurs fairly frequently among the villagers of Pangai. Men had no hesitation in telling their dreams to us or else recording them for us. The women, however, were much shyer and it was only by considerable perseverance that Pearl Beaglehole was able to record any dreams at all from women informants. There is no reason for thinking that women dream less than men. Many dreams seem to be in terms of conventional cultural symbols and are given a conventional interpretation by the Tongans. Thus for a husband to dream of money or a ring is a sign that his wife is pregnant. Dreams portending death, usually of a member of the family or some other close relative, are those of teeth falling out (said to be a common type of dream), dreams of feces on the body, dreams of touching or handling a hen's egg.[3] Dreams of approaching fire or of slipping down into a bottomless pit are terror dreams, generally interpreted as warnings of possible punishment should the dreamer continue to commit minor sinful acts. One informant also stated that dreams could be used to validate medicinal recipes. His mother's father was visited by a female spirit in a dream and given a successful recipe to cure barrenness and sterility in women.

Wish-fulfilment dreams appear to be frequent and capable of easy interpretation. The following are examples of this type of dream:

Case 1.—Avai, a boy of 18, home on vacation from a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Nukualofa, reported to me several dreams in which "a girl friend" appeared and offered herself to him in sexual intercourse. Tongan sexual morality among young people is relatively strict. Avai had previously been asked to leave the Government College, Nukualofa, for absenting himself at night from the college. He had determined to reform, but the occurrence of this type of dream suggests that his reforming zeal was not without its intrapsychic conflict.

Case 2.—Loata, a woman of about 35, our next-door neighbor and one very poor, even according to Tongan standards, narrated the following dream to Pearl Beaglehole: "You brought me a beautiful new dress as a gift and also a lot of pins to fasten it together after it had been fitted. My daughter Saane (6 years old) ran away with the pins, and when I chased her she suddenly changed into Saane Tapaka (a girl of 18 employed by us as housegirl, with the same first name as the daughter—we had previously given Saane T. a dress). I could not catch her, and when I came back to my house to get the dress I found you had gone and the dress was nowhere to be found." This dream is, I think, self-explanatory. Loata dressed for the most part in rags because her husband was too poor to buy new piece goods at the village store.

Case 3.—Kafa, a young woman of 18 years, married for two years without yet becoming pregnant (a rarity in Tonga), confesses to many dreams in which she gives birth to and nurses an infant. She also dreams occasionally that her husband, the local storekeeper and a hardworking man, has eloped

[2] Field work on which this paper was based was carried out in Tonga, December, 1938, to February, 1939. Pearl Beaglehole and I lived in the village of Pangai, Vava'u, a small Tongan community about six miles distant from Neiafu, government and trading center for Vava'u, the northern group of Tongan islands, 170 miles away by sea from Nukualofa, capital of the Tongan kingdom. The population of Pangai is about 270. Pearl Beaglehole helped me collect the material here recorded. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer, Vava'u, kindly gave me the information on which Case 10 (below) is based.

[3] E. W. Gifford, "Tongan Society," *Bishop Museum Bull.* 61, 1929, pp. 337–338, gives several further examples.

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with another woman. The first dream is patently a wish-fulfilment dream with an undercurrent of anxiety that becomes obvious in Kafa's second dream. The longer she remains without a child, the less secure she can feel in her husband's affections.

Case 4.—Heu, a woman of 30, long married but still without children, dreams that we are leaving Pangai and give her a baby girl as a farewell gift. She weeps over our departure but is glad she at last has a baby. She goes to get food for the baby, but, when she returns a moment later, the baby is gone. In her annoyance she beats her father's father, who lives in her house, accusing him of losing the baby. Then she awakes crying. This dream again is obviously motivated by the desire of a childless woman for children. Her paternal grandfather is very old and needs much attention and nursing. Making him responsible for the loss of a cherished gift enables the dreamer to vent on the old man some of the resentment she occasionally feels for him, but as quickly suppresses, during waking hours. A feeling of guilt over this causes her to awake in tears and feeling, as she added, that she "had done something very bad."

Anxiety dreams also seem to be common among these villagers. Many of these dreams seem to relate to anxieties over religious matters. These I shall consider later. Others appear to have a number of different motivations of which the following are examples.

Case 5.—Dream of Tui, married man of about 27. In his dream Tui saw a family picnic where he and his wife and baby, together with his mother-in-law and Sigaleti (his *fa'e tangata*, mother's brother), were present. After the picnic was finished, he sent his wife and mother-in-law inland to collect coconuts. He then mounted his horse and Sigaleti with his baby mounted another. They went along the beach and made the horses swim out to sea. It became dark and he lost sight of Sigaleti, but he continued to swim his horse until he arrived at Ha'apai (the middle islands of the Tongan group, some seventy miles distant from Pangai). There he saw Sigaleti and the baby on the beach. They rode down a village road until they came to the house where a white man lived with his wife. The baby began to cry with hunger. Tui lifted the baby from the horse and asked the white people for water. They had none, but they offered European food, which Tui fed to his baby with a spoon. At first the baby refused this new food, but later it ate eagerly. Then some relatives came by. One of them, another brother of his mother, walked toward him carrying a little girl. As he watched, his relative and the little girl fell into a deep pit. He rushed toward them because suddenly the little girl looked just like his own baby. He could not see them. He woke feeling depressed and sad.

It is possible to interpret this dream, I think, if I mention the fact that it was dreamed two days after Tui, a very intelligent man, had been discussing with us European methods of feeding and bringing up children. There is a heavy infantile mortality in Tonga and we had been propagandizing among the brighter Tongans for the exercise of more care in infant feeding (orange juice and cow's milk, for example, instead of half-cooked pork and taro and deadly teething powders). Many of our friends were quite receptive to this idea though they felt it would require much education and effort to put into practice. Tui was also extremely attached to his infant daughter. Doubtless a feeling of anxiety over his inability to do what Europeans with their great prestige thought best for his child gained expression in this dream. He symbolically dismisses his wife and mother-in-law, representative of current Tongan methods of infant care, and finds the desired foods for his child, only

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to find in the end that a representative of this method, a mother's brother, claims the child and perhaps kills it by accident. The whole of this dream provides a good example of the way in which specific anxieties arising from specific aspects of a more generalized clash of cultural standards obtain a certain justification, sometimes a resolution, in dream symbolism.

Two further dreams suggest interesting anxiety symbols, though I was unable to get the dreamer to recall data of his childhood years in sufficient number to advance a definite interpretation.

Case 6.—Dream of Potemani, married man of about 36 years. He dreamed he was in Nukualofa with his mother, whom he was shortly to leave on his return to Pangai. He and his mother were walking down a bush path when he suddenly saw a huge tree about to fall on top of them. He was terror-stricken, but his mother told him not to fear. With a small stick she propped up the large tree and they walked safely past. Three times this happened. The dreamer awoke in fear, and the dream has returned since with all the terror of a nightmare.

Later Potemani had another type of terror dream. He saw indistinctly in his dream an elderly man who was threatening to strike a group of small children with a large bush knife. Presently the dreamer heard the old man strike one of the boys. He distinctly heard the crack of a leg bone as the knife sheared through the leg; he struggled to see what was happening, but he could not. He awoke frightened by the dream.

A not too fanciful analysis of these two dreams might, I think, discern in them certain symbols for a father imago. The first dream particularly seems transparent if we interpret it in Freudian symbols. In this connection, too, it may be noted that dreams in which a father appears do not seem uncommon among our informants. Thus Avai (see Case 1 above) said that while he was in college in Nukualofa he had occasional dreams in which he saw his father as a corpse lying dead. He awoke from these dreams crying and frightened. Another informant, Sione, also reported a long and involved dream in which he found himself at his grandfather's funeral feast eating the flesh of a large, fat, delicious horse. Potemani's second dream is also not one that stands alone. Children's nightmare dreams seem largely to include either being chased by large animals (a horse or a bull) or else by a man often armed with a large bush knife. Dr. J. C. Lopdell, Assistant Medical Officer for Vava'u, also informed me of the case of a boy of 8 years brought to him for the treatment of a persistent night terror which consisted in terror dreams of being chased by a man with a bush knife. This boy, incidentally, was being severely disciplined by an irascible father. Marked improvement occurred only when Dr. Lopdell succeeded in modifying this discipline by persuading the father to treat the boy in a more gentle and kindly fashion. I suspect, therefore, that psychic stress conditioned by the necessities of adjusting to the rather strict morality of the average Tongan home may well result in the type of dream reported by Potemani.

Another type of dream in which symbolism of a different emotional value suggests a Freudian interpretation is the following:

Case 7.—A dream of Sione, an unmarried man of about 20. The dreamer found himself in a working party with his eight brothers, hoeing rows of yams. The missionary (Free Church of Tonga), Pili, comes up to the workers, praising some, criticizing others. He tells all the workers to go to the village. Suddenly Sione finds himself inside a house where a feast of food is laid on the floor. He goes outside and sees the missionary's wife coming toward him with a large saucepan full to the brim with money. Pili tells the dreamer to

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carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[1]

Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

Case 8.—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

[1] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

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lighted. She walked down the narrow road and saw at the end a burning house inside of which many of her relatives were being burned alive. She asked them if she should open the door to allow them to escape. They called out to her to run away, that she was not wanted. She ran down the road and awoke feeling very frightened.

Ana was then serving as our housegirl. Being a Roman Catholic, she was being educated at a convent, but was home on holiday. She was being courted on the sly by Avai, a second cousin, a member of the Free Church of Tonga. Her mother disapproved of Avai and in any case wished her to marry a Roman Catholic man only after she had attended school for some years further. Ana was using the privilege of being our housegirl, and thus directly out of her mother's guardianship for most of the day, to arrange occasional meetings with Avai in or about our cookhouse. It was obvious that she found the stolen meetings sweet even though well aware that Avai should carry on his courting, according to Tongan practice, only when a chaperon was present and, preferably, in her mother's house. This conflict is presumably adequate motivation for Ana's dream, the two roads symbolizing her temptation, burning in fire the reward of sinners, and rejection by her relatives symbolizing the manner in which she might have to quarrel with them should she allow the courtship to continue.

I have record of twelve further dreams given to us by informants within the course of a single week, in each of which religious symbolism is plain and usually refers to anxieties over church teaching—the end of the world, punishment of sinners, worries over interdoctrinal differences. These anxieties often appear to be increased by the fact that the relatives of the dreamer belong to other sects than the dreamer's, and so, to one who takes his religion seriously, intellectual disagreement is heightened by the necessity of believing that one's relatives are indubitably headed straight for an eternal hell fire. Two dreams may be given to illustrate the patterning of this form of emotional conflict over sectarianism.

Case 9.—Dreams of Sigaleti, married man about 58 years old. The dreamer and many of his friends were sitting in a large Tongan house that had two open doorways. Suddenly, a large sheet of fire came rapidly toward the house. A man stood up ordering Sigaleti to leave by one door, his friends by the other. Outside the house Sigaleti saw the flames devouring all his friends.

The second dream: The dreamer saw an angel flying in the sky. In one hand it carried a book, in the other a sword. The angel alighted on the ground. Suddenly, Sigaleti saw a man named Povai (a relative, Roman Catholic) reading from the book, and he heard the words: "There are three men. Two shall live and one shall die." Sigaleti asked for the book, but the angel flew away.

The religious phrasing of both these dreams is clear. Sigaleti is a somewhat morose and dour-looking Tongan. He rarely smiles, wearing instead a look of patient and absorptive brooding that is uncommon in the Tongan. He took every opportunity to ply us with questions about religious matters, disputes over Christian doctrine and the like. Immediately before he had these dreams, Sigaleti had left the Free Wesleyan Church and had joined the Free Church. The first dream appears to provide obvious justification for the change (a change, incidentally, that provoked much discussion, criticism, and gossip in the village); the second dream suggests that Sigaleti is worrying about the validity of Roman Catholicism. That these interpretations are not purely subjective on my part is supported by the fact that when I outlined them for Sigaleti he confessed quite voluntarily that he wished he could take his mind off religious matters but that he thought of them day and night.

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PSYCHOSIS AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

121 The dreams that I have so far mentioned are of interest because they give an indication of some of the main lines of psychic stress in a Tongan village. 158 Through the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Lopdell I was able also to observe a manic-(159) depressive patient, the onset of whose psychosis seems to be due to anxiety 158 over the welfare of an adolescent daughter. The patterning of the psychosis 771 is almost exclusively in terms of symbolism taken from Wesleyan Christianity. This again suggests the significance of religion in the everyday life of the Tongans. None thought it strange or unusual that religion should figure so prominently in the symptoms of the psychotic. The interest of this case justifies a full description. I present it therefore as I recorded it at the time.

158 *Case 10.*—Manic-depressive psychosis. There was a message awaiting the 159 doctor when we came back to dinner, asking him to go down to the jail. The jailer's wife had been screaming and yelling and fighting all night, apparently, and all day. Could he do anything for her? The doctor sent up to the hospital for some morphine and a hypodermic syringe. We both went to the jail. The jailer's wife was sitting on the floor in a small, dark, windowless cell, her husband hanging to one arm, a friend clutching the other. Every few minutes she vomited forth a flood of excited Tongan, then screeched and struggled and cursed everyone present. She was quite obviously in a manic state, and morphine brought an immediate release for her and a few hours' rest for her guardians.

Her history, as her daughter Mele gave it, is significant for the sidelight it gives on Tongan life today. The woman was always considered peculiar by her friends, in the sense that she showed little discretion—had no feeling for the Aristotelian golden mean, if you like—in the way she carried out Tongan patterns of behavior. She always went to church more frequently than her neighbors, prayed more vigorously, sang more loudly. Whenever there was a feast or a gift-giving, she wasted more food than her friends and gave away in an unseemly fashion everything her hands touched in her house. She was definitely queer, both her family and her friends were sure. Moreover, all her pride and affection were centered on her daughter Mele, a buxom, full-spirited, definitely pretty lass of about seventeen with a high reputation as a dancer and definitely attractive to the local youth. Quite recently Mele had visited Nukualofa and unofficially borrowed two "hot-cha" gramophone records to take with her as a present to some Nukualofa lad. There was some unpleasantness over the records when Mele returned to Neiafu. Most forgot about the matter, except Mele's mother and one of her local church enemies, an old hag who probably envied Mele her youth. Quite recently the mother and the hag had been quarrelling violently, the backbiting coming to a head the day before we visited the jail, when the hag, seeking to score a body blow, threatened to revive public interest in Mele's gramophone records and have Mele committed to jail as a common thief. The blow was shrewd and thoughtless, probably. But it lodged against the mother's unbalanced head. She went to bed worrying. She awoke in the middle of the night a raving maniac.

The interest of all this, I take it, is the way in which Mele's mother patterns 158 her anxiety. She is deeply religious, slightly unbalanced, devoted to her 159 daughter, and intensely worried about the daughter. The strain is too strong 771 for her mind to bear. She suffers from mania. And the maniacal ravings are all phrased in religious concepts. She calls Mele pure, unsullied, lovely, a true bride of Christ. She prays incessantly to God, urging him, nay, demanding of him that he forgive and protect her daughter from any shameful harm. She offers herself as a sacrifice to atone for Mele's possible sinfulness. Then

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she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed-blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu. Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the patient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to celebrate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

Summary

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched